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W.E.B. DuBois
The
Souls
Black
Folk

100th Anniversary

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Preface

Captain Lee P. Gearhart, Human Resources Officer, 88th Regional Support Command, Ft. Snelling, St. Paul, Minnesota, served as a participant in the Topical Research Intern Program at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) from August 16 to September 13, 2002. He conducted the necessary research to prepare this report. The Institute thanks Captain Gearhart for his contributions to the research efforts of DEOMI.

Scope

The Topical Research Intern Program provides the opportunity for Service members and Departments of Defense (DoD) and Transportation (DoT) civilian employees to work on a diversity/equal opportunity project while on a 30-day tour of duty at the Institute. During their tour, the interns use a variety of primary and secondary source materials to compile research pertaining to an issue of importance to equal opportunity (EO) and equal employment opportunity (EEO) personnel, supervisors, and other leaders throughout the Services. The resulting publications (such as this one) are intended as resource and educational materials and do not represent official policy statements or endorsements by the DoD, DoT, or any of their agencies. The publications are distributed to EO/EEO personnel and senior officials to aid them in their duties. Additionally, the publications are posted on the Internet at: https://www.patrick.af.mil/deomi/deomi.htm.

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, DoD, or the DoT.

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Background	2
Overview	2
Education	2
Career	2
Philosophy	2
The essays in <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i>	3
Of the Sons of Master and Man	3
The Present	6
Physical Proximity	7
Economic Relations	8
Political Relations	10
Intellectual Contact	12
Social Contact	12
Religious Enterprise	14
State of Race Relations – The Color Line	15
Affirmative Action	17
Conclusion	19
References	21
Appendix	A1

Introduction

The theme for Black History Month 2003 is <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u> (100th Anniversary). <u>Souls</u> is a compilation of 14 essays authored in 1903 by W.E.B. (William Edward Burghardt) DuBois. The main focus of this publication is on *Of The Sons of Master and Man*, one of the 14 essays. The purpose of this research is to give the reader an understanding of the physical, economic, political, intellectual, social, and religious barriers to race interaction between Blacks and Whites as described by DuBois and contrast them with today's issues. In order to maintain the integrity of DuBois' original work, the examples used in the text do not represent all racial, ethnic, and minority groups. Further, this research uses interchangeably the terms Black, African American, or even in a historical context, "Negro." The U.S. Census data along with other data sources used in this report provide comparison categories either by White or non-Hispanic White. When the term White is used alone, the numbers could include individuals with Hispanic ethnicity.

Background

Overview

As Americans, we have moved into a new century with a sense of purpose, direction, and renewed commitment to our citizens. From time-to-time, however, it is necessary to take pause and examine where we are as a society relative to our past. One such area of examination is race relations and interaction in America, specifically as it applies to Blacks and Whites. A large part of understanding the problem we face as a society is understanding people who are different than we are; take a moment and complete the quiz in Appendix A. If you are Black ask yourself, "How well do I understand my own history?" and if you are not Black ask yourself, "How well do I understand a history other than my own?"

One of the most prolific African American philosophers of the 20th Century was W.E.B. DuBois. In 1903, W.E.B. DuBois published <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u>. <u>Souls</u> is one man's vision of where we were as a country with race interaction at the turn of the 20th Century. As you read through this paper keep in mind of where we were with race interaction, where we are now, and what we as individuals and collectively can do to advance the strides already made.

Education

W.E.B. DuBois graduated from Barrington High School (Great Barrington, MA) in 1884. He later went on to enroll at Fisk University (Nashville, TN) in 1885. In 1888, he received a BA from Fisk and entered Harvard College as a junior after receiving a Price-Greenleaf grant (DuBois, 1999). In 1890, DuBois received a BA *cum laude* in Philosophy and entered Harvard graduate school in Social Science; he graduated in 1891 with a MA in History. In 1895, DuBois became the first Black to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard (DuBois, 1999).

Career

DuBois had a varied career as an educator, publisher, and social reform advocate. DuBois was a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and director of research and editor for the magazine, <u>The Crisis</u> (one of the oldest Black periodicals and the official publication of the NAACP) (W.E.B. DuBois, n.d.).

Philosophy

Between 1897 and 1914, DuBois conducted numerous studies of Black society in America and published 16 research papers. He began his investigations believing that social science could provide answers to race problems. Gradually, he concluded that in a climate of virulent racism, social change could only be accomplished by agitation and protest (W.E.B. DuBois, n.d.).

At the turn of the century, DuBois had been a supporter of Black capitalism. Throughout his career, he moved steadily to the political left. By 1905, he had been drawn to socialist ideas and remained sympathetic to Marxism throughout his life (particularly, the philosophies of "economic equality" and the "socialization of wealth"). DuBois acted in support of integration and equal rights for everyone regardless of race, but his thinking often exhibited a degree of Black separatist-nationalist tendencies. In 1961, DuBois became completely disillusioned with

the United States; he later moved to Ghana and joined the Communist Party. In 1962, he renounced his American citizenship (W.E.B. DuBois, n.d.).

The essays in <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u>

The essays contained in <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u> were originally published as a series of articles in periodicals such as the <u>Atlantic Monthly</u>, <u>The World's Work</u>, <u>The Dial</u>, and so forth (DuBois, 1999). In all, there are 14 essays: Of Our Spiritual Strivings, Of the Dawn of Freedom, Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others, Of the Meaning of Progress, Of the Wings of Atlanta, Of the Training of Black Men, Of the Black Belt, Of the Quest of the Golden Fleece, Of the Sons of Master and Men, Of the Faith of the Fathers, Of the Passing of the First-Born, Of Alexander Crummell, Of the Coming of John, and The Sorrow Songs. The essays cover a wide variety of topics and were written based on DuBois' travels through the South and his encounters with "Black Folk." For purposes of this research, primary focus is on the essay entitled, "Of The Sons of Master and Men."

Of The Sons of Master and Man

"The world-old phenomenon of the contact of diverse races of men is to have exemplification during the new century. To bring this hope to fruition, we are compelled daily to turn more and more to a conscientious study frank and fair, not falsified and colored by our wishes or fears" (DuBois, 1999, pp. 105-106). DuBois believed that for Whites and Blacks to understand one another they must interact. This interaction was to go beyond superficial day-to-day routine...it had to be something substantive. Table 1 illustrates the six areas of racial interaction outlined by DuBois: physical proximity, economic relations, political relations, intellectual contact, social contact, and religious enterprise (DuBois, 1999).

Table 1. DuBois' Of the Sons of Master and Man Race Interaction Matrix

Characteristic	Definition	Traits
Physical proximity	Homes and dwelling-places & neighborhoods	Segregated along color lines, only see bad in each race, not the good
Economic relations	Mutual satisfaction of wants for production of wealth	Slave remnants, requires personal guidance, mentoring
Political relations	Cooperation in social control and in-group government	Suffrage and elected officials
Intellectual contact and commerce	Interchange of ideas through conversation and conference	No community of intellectual life where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come into direct contact with one another
Social contact	Everyday life, travel, gatherings, marriage	Color-line has prevented "real" mixing on a social level; separate social lives
Religious enterprise	Moral teaching and benevolent behavior	One God, separate worship

Physical proximity. Through DuBois' travels in the South, he found a distinct physical color line dividing Whites and Negroes (DuBois, 1999). DuBois (1999) made the following observation about the way people clustered:

One thing, however seldom occurs: the best of Whites and the best of Negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity. It thus happens that in nearly every Southern town and city, both Whites and Blacks see commonly the worst of each other. (p. 107)

Economic relations. "What the Black laborer needs is careful personal guidance, group leadership of men working with hearts in their bosoms, to train them to foresight, carefulness, and honesty" (DuBois, 1999, p. 108). The Black labor force had been subjected to the tyranny of slavery and had not been allowed to "think" and mature as a paid labor force. For the Black man, standing up as a legitimate labor force was compounded by the prejudices of the day, as was described by DuBois (1999) in the following passage:

After Emancipation, it was the plain duty of some one [sic] to assume this group leadership and training of the Negro laborer. I will not stop here to inquire whose duty it was, – whether that of the White ex-master who had profited by unpaid toil, or the National Government whose edict freed the bondmen; I will not stop to ask whose duty it was, but I insist it was the duty of someone to see that these workingmen were not left alone and unguided, without capital, without land, without skill, without economic organization, without even the bald protection of the law, order, and decency, – left in a great land, not to settle down to slow and careful internal development, but destined to be thrown almost immediately into relentless and sharp competition with the best of modern workingmen under an economic system where every participant is fighting for himself, and too often utterly regardless of the rights or welfare of his neighbor. (p. 108)

Political relations. The cooperation in social control, in-group government, and the burden of taxation were critical elements to DuBois in his examination of political relations. To put things into context, the United States Congress passed the 13th Amendment in 1865 (ended slavery in the United States), the 14th Amendment in 1868 (granted African Americans citizenship and civil rights), and the 15th Amendment in 1870 (granted African American males the right to vote). Politics were not so much an issue of Blacks being elected as much as their voice being heard; DuBois (1999) echoes these sentiments in the following passage:

To-day [sic] the Black man of the South has almost nothing to say as to how much he shall be taxed, or how those taxes shall be expended; as to who shall execute the laws, and how they shall be made. It is pitiable that frantic efforts must be made at critical times to get lawmakers in some States even to listen to the respectful presentation of the Black man's side of the current controversy (p. 112).

DuBois (1999) goes one step further with his discussion of Blacks by saying their political situation has been hindered as a result of "Negro" crime:

...crime among Negroes has sensibly increased in the last thirty years, and that there has appeared in the slums of great cities a distinct criminal class among the Blacks. In explaining this unfortunate development, we must note two things: (1) that the inevitable result of Emancipation was to increase crime and criminals, and (2) that the police system of the South was primarily designed to control slaves (p. 113).

Intellectual contact and commerce. The interchange of ideas through: (a) conversation and conference, and (b) through periodicals and libraries were essential areas identified by DuBois for meaningful interaction among Blacks and Whites. The following are DuBois' observations on day-to-day contact of the races:

...the other day a Black man and a White woman were arrested for talking together on Whitehall Street in Atlanta. Now if one notices carefully one will see that between these two worlds, despite much physical contact and daily intermingling, there is almost no community of intellectual life or point of transference where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come into direct contact and sympathy with the thoughts and the feelings of the other (Dubois, 1999, p. 116).

Social contact. Another area of interaction that DuBois reasoned would assist in breaking down race-related barriers was every day life events: travel, theatres, house gatherings, marrying, and giving marriage.

...there is little or no intellectual commerce [between Blacks and Whites]. They go to separate churches, they live in separate sections, they are strictly separated, and they are beginning to read different papers and books. To most libraries, lectures, concerts, and museums, Negroes are either not admitted at all, or on terms peculiarly galling to the pride of the very classes who might otherwise be attracted. The daily paper chronicles the doings of the Black world from afar with no great regard for accuracy....The White man, as well as the Negro, is bound and barred by the color-line...(DuBois, 1999, p. 116).

Religious enterprise. DuBois underscored the importance of church to the "Negro" by saying, "is the social centre of Negro life in the United States, and the most characteristic expression of African character" (DuBois, 1999, p. 121). As important as it was, it was not immune to the ills of segregation. One must remember that religion was born out of slavery and as such, Blacks and Whites have almost always worshipped separately as DuBo is (1999) so clearly illustrates.

Thus, one can see in the Negro church to-day [sic], reproduced in microcosm, all that great world from which the Negro is cut off by color-prejudice and social condition. In the great city churches the same tendency is noticeable and in many respects emphasized (p. 122).

At the time DuBois authored his essays, Blacks almost exclusively participated in segregated worship within the Baptist and Methodist faiths.

The Present

Next, the attention of this research will turn to the present day and where we are concerning DuBois' six areas of interaction (See Table 2) (Dubois, 1999). While the characteristics and traits remain the same as in Table 1, this paper identifies different traits to complete the matrix that is indicative of today's interaction.

Blacks and Whites have made significant progress to bridge the interaction gap, but there is still a need for change. For example, the physical proximity of the races has been hampered by the real estate practices of steering and blockbusting. Consequently, Blacks are more likely to live in large metropolitan areas than Whites. Economically, Blacks are earning more today than ever before and have shown larger salary increases (percentage-wise) than Whites. Additionally, Blacks make up a larger percentage of the Federal workforce and Armed Forces than the civilian workforce. Politically, laws have been enacted with the goal of affording Blacks equal access to the political system. As a result, Blacks are elected to public office at higher rates than ever before. On the intellectual level, Blacks are attending college at higher rates, but still lag behind those of Whites. Further, a large percentage of Blacks obtaining professional or specialized degrees attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). On the social level, intermarriage rates are higher among members of the Armed Forces than society as a whole. Our children are increasing their relationships with other races, but are often discouraged by

friends and families to continue those relationships. Finally, religion has been one of the most segregated of all institutions. Progress is being made to merge Black and White churches. Additionally, Blacks are attending Catholic churches at higher rates and many serve in leadership positions.

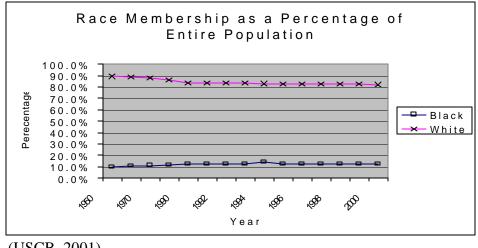
Table 2. DuBois' Of the Sons of Master and Man Race Interaction Matrix Today

Characteristic	Definition	Traits
Physical proximity	Homes and dwelling-places & neighborhoods	Segregated by real estate practices
Economic relations	Mutual satisfaction of wants for production of wealth	Black earning power increased; larger representation in military and Federal sectors than civilian
Political relations	Cooperation in social control and in-group government	Blacks being elected into public office at highest rates ever; passage of laws
Intellectual contact and commerce	Interchange of ideas through conversation and conference	Blacks attending college at higher rates, but still behind Whites; separation on campus
Social contact	Everyday life, travel, gatherings, marriage	Social contact increased, segregation still exists
Religious enterprise	Moral teaching and benevolent behavior	Progress being made to make major religions more inclusive

Physical Proximity

Population. The population has grown from roughly 151 million in 1950 to 275 million in 2000; a 55% growth rate. At the same time, the White population has decreased from 135 million in 1950 or 89% of the total population to 226 million in 2000 or 82% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau [USCB], 2001). In Figure 1 the numbers for the Black population contrast with that of the White population: Blacks have had a nearly 3% population growth since 1950 (15 million to 35 million).

Figure 1. Race Membership as a Percentage of Entire Population



(USCB, 2001)

A further breakdown shows that 86% of Blacks compared to 77% of non-Hispanic Whites live in metropolitan areas. There is a large difference between the number of Blacks who live in the central cities of metropolitan areas (55%) compared to non-Hispanic Whites (22%) (McKinnon and Humes, 2000). It is clear from these statistics that Blacks are much more likely to live in the central city of a metropolitan area, but why?

Real estate practices. Over the years, biases in real estate practices have reinforced the color line in America. One practice, called blockbusting, involves agents selling property to Black families in a predominantly White neighborhood, thus resulting in panic selling by the remaining Whites and large profits for agents (Steinhorn & Diggs-Brown, 1999). Another practice, called steering, involves agents showing higher priced properties in White neighborhoods to Blacks, knowing full-well they cannot afford them, then steering the prospective client back into Black neighborhoods (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). The practice of steering is prevalent in the rental industry too. Whites are frequently quoted lower rents and never told properties are already rented, whereas Blacks are quotes higher rent rates and often told properties are already rented (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). "A federal study found that 60 to 90 percent of housing units shown to Whites are not made available to Blacks" (Steinhorn, et al., 1999, p. 39).

Economic Relations

The workforce. Military, Federal, and the civilian workforces were examined by race composition. As Table 3 illustrates, Blacks compose 18.4% (422,567) of Service members in the overall military population, whereas Whites represent 66.8% (1,529,312). Broken down further, Blacks represent 19.7% of the active forces compared to Whites who represent 64.8%. In the Reserve components, Blacks represent 16.5% of the total force compared to Whites who are at 69.9%. Of particular note, the Regular Army and the Army Reserve have the strongest Black representation (in both Services, Blacks comprise 26% of the force compared to Whites who represent 58% (Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute [DEOMI], 2002b).

Table 3. Race by Military Component

Race	Total	Active	Reserve
Black	422,567 or 18.4%	276,655 or 19.7%	145,912 or 16.5%
White	1,529,312 or 66.8%	912,450 or 64.8%	616,862 or 69.9%
Overall Total	2,290,530	1,407,706	882,824

^{*}Note: Column totals will not equal overall total due to some races being excluded.

In the Federal workforce, Blacks comprise 17% (298,701) of the total population of 1,755,689. Whites make up 69.8% (1,755,689) of the total population (U.S. Office of Personnel Management [OPM], 2001).

The civilian labor force is defined as non-institutionalized adults age 16 and older not in the Federal workforce or military forces. The total civilian employment population was 135,208,000 in 2000, Blacks made up 11.3% (15,335,000) and Whites accounted for 83.9% (113,475,000) of the total civilian labor force (USCB, 2001). Further, the percentage of the Black population in the civilian labor force increased from 64% in 1990 to 65.8% in 2000. The Black and White composition of workforces are presented in Figure 2.

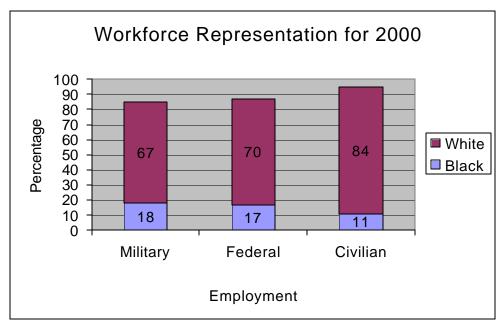


Figure 2. Race Workforce Representation by Race for 2000

(DEOMI, 2002b; OPM, 2001; and USCB, 2001)

Specific occupations examined. Figures from March 1999 reveal that non-Hispanic White men were more likely than Black men to be employed in managerial and professional jobs in the civilian workforce, 32% vs. 17% (McKinnon et al., 2000). Conversely, more Black men were likely to be found in operator, fabricator, and laborer jobs than non-Hispanic White men (31% vs. 17%).

Specific occupations historically off-limits to Blacks. The advertising industry is less than two percent Black (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). This is a powerful figure when one considers that advertising is responsible for controlling the commercial images we see in the media. Additionally, according to the National Law Journal (February 19, 1990), of the 250 largest law firms in the U.S., there were 23,195 partners and only 210 of them were Black (Steinhorn et al., 1999). Even though nearly all CEOs in Fortune 500 companies are White males, inroads have been made. According to Fortune magazine (July 22, 2002), "there are three Black CEOs of Fortune 500 companies-and more on the way" (Daniels, 2002, p. 1). Further, "Since, 1999, three Black men have ascended to become CEOs of Fortune 50 companies... The Executive Leadership Council, a networking organization for senior Black executives in Fortune 500 companies who are no more than three steps away from CEO, today boasts 275 members; it was founded in 1986 with 19 members" (Daniels, 2002, p. 1).

Income and poverty. With income held constant based on 1999 dollars (1970 through 1998 dollars were adjusted for inflation to reflect 1999 dollars), Black and Whites showed varying income increases from 1970 to 1999 (See Figure 3). The median income for Whites in 1970 was \$36,696 and in 1999, \$42,504 (an increase of 14%). On the other hand, the median income for Blacks in 1970 was \$22,336 and in 1999, \$27,910, an increase of 20% (USCB,

2001). Even though Blacks had a larger increase in salary than Whites, a \$15,000 gap still exists.

Additionally, the poverty rate is much higher for Blacks than Whites. The poverty threshold was based on a family of four earning \$16,600 or less (McKinnon et al., 2000). In 1998, nearly 34.5 million people (13%) were living in poverty. Of these 34.5 million, 9.1 million were Black and 15.8 million were non-Hispanic Whites. Even though Blacks showed a poverty rate of 3% when compared to the total population (non-Hispanic Whites, 6%), the percentage of poverty within the Black population was 26% and for non-Hispanic Whites it was 8% (McKinnon et al., 2000).

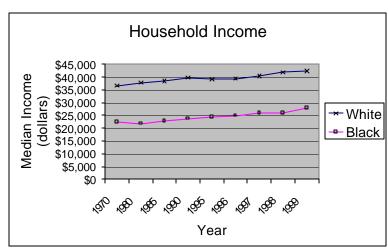


Figure 3. Median Household Income by Race: 1970 to 1999

(McKinnon et al., 2000)

Political Relations

Key historical events. There were many key political initiatives undertaken in the 20th Century with the goals of integration and equality. A landmark event was the signing of Executive Order 9981 in 1948. The order declared, "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin" (Truman, n.d.). Additionally, in 1948, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act was passed. The act enabled women to serve as permanent, regular members of the Services (Britannica, n.d.). In 1954, the Supreme Court case of Brown vs. Board of Education outlawed segregation in public schools (Belsie, 1999). The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 banned discrimination in public establishments, education, Federally funded programs, and employment (Legal Information Institute, n.d.). Another important piece of legislation was the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that outlawed discriminatory voting practices (U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.).

Black elected officials. One of the critical observations made by DuBois in <u>Souls</u> was the need for representation of Blacks in the political system. This information has been tracked by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, an institution founded in 1970 by Black intellectuals, professionals, and elected officials with the goal of improving the socioeconomic status of Black Americans and other minorities through public policy debate, analysis, and

research (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies [JCPES], n.d.). In 1970, there were nine Black members of the U.S. House of Representatives, as of January 2000, there were 39. Further, when all aspects of elected government are examined (Federal, state, county, municipality, executive, judicial, and legislative) Black elected officials (BEOs) have increased over 600% from 1970 of 1,469 to 9,040 in 2000 (Bositis, 2000).

As part of the same study, the Joint Center also noted three trends over the past 10 years. First, a significant generational change is taking place. Over 80% of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus have been elected since 1990 (Bositis, 2000). Second, the number of female BEOs over the last two years "have accounted for all the growth in the number of BEOs...their number has increased by 195 while the number of Black men in office has declined by 23" (Bositis, 2000, pp. 7-8). Third, the number of BEOs from non-Black majority constituencies is increasing (Bositis, 2000). With all these successes, there are some gains to be made: increasing BEOs in political office and questioning why some elected offices, such as U.S. Senator, have been difficult for Blacks to attain.

Voter behavior. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies performed a study in another aspect of politics, voting behavior. In this study, 1,702 people age 18 and older were surveyed between March 1, 1996 and April 20, 1997; of the respondents, 728 were White and 850 were Black. Two key questions relating to voting behavior were asked; the first asked how Black voters would vote in an election where one candidate was Black and the other White, and the second asked how White voters would vote in a similar election. The choices were for the candidate of their own race or the most qualified candidate. A clear majority of Blacks responded that they would vote for the most qualified candidate (56.5%) rather than the Black candidate (35%). Meanwhile, Whites who were surveyed stated they believed Blacks would vote for the Black candidate in 70% of the cases and the most qualified candidate 23.6% of the time. When Blacks were asked who they thought Whites would vote for, 55.3% thought Whites would vote for the White candidate while 34.5% thought they would vote for the most qualified candidate. On the other hand, 39.5% of White voters stated they would vote for the White candidate, while 55.3% reported they would vote for the most qualified (Bositis, 1997). The results are charted in Table 4. Both races stated they were most likely to vote for the most qualified candidate, however, they do not believe that about the other race. Perhaps, it is necessary to reflect on why this has occurred. As DuBois stated earlier, this could be the result of little interaction between the races. Would the results be similar if more Blacks and Whites were neighbors, went to school together, or worshipped together?

Table 4. Cross-racial Perception of Voting Behavior

	Most Qualified	Candidate of Own Race
Blacks on a Black Candidate	56.5%	35%
Whites on How Blacks Would Vote	23.6%	70%
Whites on a White Candidate	55.3%	39.5%
Blacks on How Whites Would Vote	34.5%	55.3%

(Bositis, 1997)

Intellectual Contact

Education. According to 2000 Census results, the proportion of the Black population age 25 years and over with a high school diploma or above was 11 percentage points lower than that of non-Hispanic Whites, 77% and 88% respectively. The proportion of non-Hispanic Whites with at least a bachelor's degree was 28%, which was nearly twice that of Blacks at 15% (McKinnon et al., 2000).

On one level, higher education is perceived as an institution where diverse groupings of people and perspectives intersect. Although on many campuses this may hold true for the most part, college campuses across America are segregated along color lines. Further, campuses that have been historically Black or White remain that way even today (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). One reason for this separation may be that HBCUs do a better job of recruiting and developing Black students, for example:

HBIs [Historically Black Institutions] actively seek out students who in the past might not have been first choices for admission at larger, predominantly white institutions. When these students enter HBIs, a concerted effort is made to ensure that deficiencies are corrected, if any exist, in their educational preparation. Students can develop relationships with mentors, who often include presidents, senior professors, and administrators within schools. Such supportive environments now attract record numbers of African American students...(Yates, 2002, p. 3).

Is it possible the issue of separation within campuses or at traditionally White or Black institutions could become irrelevant if a similar process as described in the quote was implemented across the nation?

Social Contact

Relationships. Intermarriage is one key indicator of how well we are integrated as a society. The 1999 U.S. Census Bureau statistics show that 4% of Blacks are married to non-Hispanic Whites and about 2% of Blacks are married to Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans (McKinnon et al., 2000). This equates to a 6% intermarriage rate for Blacks, which is in sharp contrast to that of native-born Hispanics and native-born Asians, 35% and 50%, respectively (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). Intermarriage rates are much higher in the military Services as explained by University of Michigan demographer, Reynolds Farley:

...a significant number of intermarriages are among Blacks and Whites who have served in the military, which is so unlike the rest of America in its compulsory enforcement of racial integration that it barely resembles mainstream society. White women who served in the military are seven times more likely to marry Black men than White women who never served; White men are three times more likely to marry Black women. Exclude those with military and the intermarriage numbers decline by about 20 percent. For Black Americans, it is integration that creates intermarriage, not the other way around (Steinhorn, et al., 1999, p. 22).

Schools. Another area of daily social contact is school. The interesting thing about this, however, is that most children are attending separate schools and not being integrated with other

races. "Whites rarely constitute more than 15 percent of the students in our nation's largest urban school districts, and most of the time they attend predominantly White schools in their own corner of the city" (Steinhorn, et al., 1999, p. 43). There have been concerted efforts to integrate schools, but struggles are often encountered. Blacks tend to associate with Blacks and Whites tend to associate with Whites. There are often barriers even when the races interact. "Black kids who spend time with White kids are accused of 'acting White' or 'bleaching out.' White kids who hang out with Blacks are derided as 'wiggers' and 'wannabes' " (Steinhorn, et al., 1999, p. 44).

School busing. The issue of segregation mentioned above is not a new one. In Brown vs. Board of Education, the Supreme Court ruled that race discrimination and the "separate, but equal" doctrines would not be tolerated in public schools. One method of integrating the schools was by busing minorities from metropolitan areas to suburban, mostly White schools. This was done with the aim of providing more diversity, but also because the suburban school districts typically had more resources and better facilities (Belsie, 1999). However, the issue of whether school busing needs to continue is hotly contested. As one author stated, "Integration has been overwhelmed by stronger forces, such as family circumstances and the changing racial composition of inner cities" (Belsie, 1999, p. 1). More and more inner city students are attending neighborhood schools (which have received more resources over the years) and according to the Harvard Project on School Desegregation, "20 states saw an increase in the percentage of African American students attending segregated schools between 1989-1994, while only 13 percent [of schools] experienced a decrease" (Belsie, 1999, p. 2). Schools are once again segregated, but for different reasons than pre-1970.

Colleges and universities. The separation at schools is evident at institutions of higher learning. Key statistics from the <u>African American Desk Reference</u> pertaining to HBCUs follow.

Historically Black colleges and universities account for 3 percent of all institutions of higher learning in the United States, but they enroll 16 percent of all African American students in higher education and graduate nearly 30 percent of all African Americans earning bachelor's degrees (Schomburg, 1999).

The chart in Figure 4 shows the percentage of Blacks who received specialized training from HBCUs compared to those who received similar training at non-HBCUs. Just as White preference is to attend White institutions, Blacks attend HBCUs. It is quite likely that the quality of education at HBCUs and non-HBCUs is high, but the race interaction that DuBois points out in <u>Souls</u> is absent.

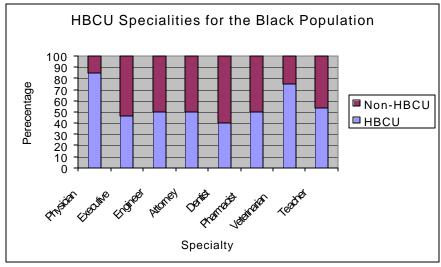


Figure 4. Blacks Who Received Specialized Training at HBCUs and non-HBCUs

(Schomburg, 1999)

Criminal activity. A misperceived heightened level of interracial crime serves to hinder social contact among Blacks and Whites. Generally, the media portrays criminal activity by Blacks as comprising the largest segment of criminals in society, but this is simply not true. Out of nearly 11 million arrests made in 1999 across all levels of law enforcement, 69% were Whites and 28.6% were Blacks (U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). Frequently homicide is portrayed by media outlets as race-related; this is rarely the case, it is typically same race. According to figures obtained from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2001), racial composition of offender and victim for homicide have remained consistent in the following ranges from 1976 to 1997: White on White - 42% to 49%; Black on Black - 39% to 46%; White on Black - 2% to 3%; and Black on White - 6% to 9%. This perception of crime may be responsible for some of the limited contact among the races.

Religious Enterprise

Religious separation. For the most part, Blacks and Whites worship separately. "It is said that the most segregated hour in America is on Sunday morning between eleven and noon. Nearly nine in ten Black church members nationwide belong to Black denominations..." (Steinhorn, et al., 1999, p. 63). Churches in America that have been historically White include: Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Southern Baptists, and Catholics. The religious question is not without hope, however. Movement such as the merging of Black and White Pentecostal organizations in 1994 and talk of a merger between similar Methodist organizations is encouraging (Steinhorn, et al., 1999). Additionally, for the first time in its history, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) elected a Black bishop, Most Reverend Wilton D. Gregory, to head its organization. Further, according to the African American Fact Sheet published by the USCCB, African American membership in the Catholic Church numbers 2 million along with 250 African American priests (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2002).

State of Race Relations – The Color Line

Three bodies of research were examined to assess race relations in the civilian and military populations: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' 1997 National Opinion Poll (NOP), 2001 Military Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment Survey (MEOCS), and the 1997 Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey (AFEOS).

Civilian population. As mentioned earlier in the *Voting Behavior* section, the Joint Center's 1997 NOP survey asked questions regarding race relations, of the 1,702 people age 18 and older surveyed between March 1, 1996 and April 20, 1997, 728 were White and 850 were Black (Bositis, 1997). The results are summarized below.

"Whites were considerably more likely than Blacks and Hispanics to describe race relations in their own communities as excellent or good, and less likely to describe them as poor" (Bositis, 1997, pp. 2-3). Fifty-eight percent of White respondents said race relations in their own communities were excellent or good, contrasted with 38.9% of African Americans who answered the same way (Bositis, 1997).

"There is a near universal opinion among African Americans and Hispanics that discrimination against Blacks remains common today" (Bositis, 1997, p. 4). Among Blacks sampled, 92.2% believe that discrimination is common; Whites agreed with this statement 76% of the time (Bositis, 1997).

"While the Blacks surveyed agreed that discrimination was common, there was considerable subgroup variation on beliefs about the extent of discrimination" (Bositis, 1997, p. 4). The younger Black cohort (18-25 years old) surveyed was similar to Whites in believing that there was only some rather than a lot of discrimination against Blacks (73.5% and 76.2%). The older Black cohort, especially baby boomers (ages 36-50) believed that there was a lot rather than just some discrimination (60.4%) compared to Whites (21.1%) (Bositis, 1997).

Next, respondents were asked if the situation of African Americans in the United States over the past five years has improved, stayed the same, or worsened. Most African Americans (55.7%) thought the situation stayed the same, with slightly more thinking things were better (24.5 %) than worse (17.1%). On the other hand, just about as many Whites thought things were better (42.9%) as thought they stayed the same (44.2%), with about one in eight (12.2%) believing things were worse (Bositis, 1997).

Military population. The primary tool used to assess equal opportunity and organizational effectiveness in the military is the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS). The survey is composed of 124 questions that make up its 12 scales (See Table 5). In 2001, 118,354 personnel were administered the MEOCS; Table 6 shows the results (DEOMI, 2002a).

Table 5. Spelling of MEOCS Scale Acronyms

Scale	Full Spelling of Scale
SHD	Sexual Harassment and (Sex) Discrimination
DCBM	Differential Command Behavior toward Minorities
PEOB	Positive Equal Opportunity Behaviors
RSB	Racist/Sexist Behaviors
RD (I)	Reverse Discrimination (I)
Org Commitment	Commitment to the Organization
Perceived Mission	
Effectiveness	Perceived Mission Effectiveness
Job Satisfaction	Job Satisfaction
DTMW	Discrimination against Minorities and Women
RD (II)	Reverse Discrimination (II)
ARS	Attitudes toward Racial Separatism
OEOC	Overall EO Climate

When interpreting the results below, it should be remembered that the items are scored on a scale of one to five, one being the least favorable and five being the most favorable. Additionally, it is important to note that both the minority and majority members had neutral to favorable opinions on each of the scales, with the majority responding more favorably. According to the DEOMI research, these results are consistent with the MEOCSs administered over the past five years.

Table 6. MEOCS Annual Report 2001, Majority/Minority Comparisons

Scale	Mean Score 2001	
	Minority	Majority
SHD	3.88	4.18
DCBM	3.92	4.43
PEOB	3.50	3.94
RSB	3.86	4.18
RD (I)	3.83	4.02
Org Commitment	3.06	3.23
Perceived Mission		
Effectiveness	3.65	3.91
Job Satisfaction	3.57	3.74
DTMW	3.44	4.14
RD (II)	3.63	3.55
ARS	4.02	4.35
OEOC	3.17	3.68

Another body of research, the AFEOS (Scarville, Button, Edwards, Lancaster, and Elig, 1997), commissioned by the Defense Manpower Data Center was mailed to 76,754 Service members from September 1996 through February 1997. The survey examined a myriad of

subjects: race relations, interpersonal relationships, perceptions of military-civilian conditions and opportunities, and so forth. One of the questions asked concerned, "The Extent to Which Racial /Ethnic Relations on the Installation/Ship Were Good" (Scarville, et al., 1997, p. v). Sixty-eight percent of Whites responded Large/Very Large Extent, compared to Blacks, 39% (Scarville, et al., 1997). Further, a question was asked about perceptions in race relations over the past five years; the results are summarized below in Table 7. The data clearly indicates that Whites view race relations more favorably than Blacks. The encouraging fact is that both Blacks and Whites view race relations in the military more favorably than in the nation.

Table 7. Perceptions of Change in Race Relations Over the Last 5 Years

Race relations have gotten better or worse over the last 5 years	White (%)	Black (%)
In our nation?		
Better today	31	24
About the same as 5-years-ago	34	37
Worse today	35	39
In the military?		
Better today	48	37
About the same as 5-years-ago	41	44
Worse today	11	19

(Scarville, et al., 1997)

A note of caution must be raised when comparing these three bodies of research, however, some inferences can likely be drawn. First, Whites tend to view race relations more favorably than Blacks. Second, it does appear that the efforts of the military Services have had an impact, since the Blacks in the MEOCS (2001) and AFEOS (1997) research seem to view their position more favorably than those of Blacks in the Joint Center's NOP (1997) research.

Affirmative Action

The final section of The Joint Center's NOP (1997) research addressed issues commonly associated with affirmative action; responsibility and preferential treatment. When asked if Blacks who cannot get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition, slightly more in the Black sample disagreed (50.2%) than agreed (47.6%). On the other hand, 52.6% of Whites agreed while 40.7% disagreed (Bositis, 1997). The next question dealt with preferential treatment. Specifically, respondents were asked, "...if every possible effort should be made to improve the position of Blacks and other minorities even if it means giving them preferential treatment" (Bositis, 1997, p. 8). Of the Blacks surveyed, 48.8% said no and 45.3% responded yes. A stark contrast can be found within the White response, 83% said no and 15.3% said yes (Bositis, 1997).

The last two survey questions address the heart of the affirmative action issue: Whites strongly oppose preferential treatment towards minorities. Affirmative action got its start in 1941 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged defense contractors to hire minorities and end discriminatory practices. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson continued the work of President John F. Kennedy and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). In 1965, President Johnson formalized the tenets of affirmative action by signing

Executive Order 11246 (Yates, 2002). Although affirmative action is a method of leveling the playing field, it has often met resistance, as is described by William Yates.

While affirmative action has had its successes, there has been persistent and pernicious resistance to its tenets and practices. The causes of resistance include racism, sexism, and a "zero-sum" perception that one group's gains limit the options of the other groups because of the finite "pool" of available positions, promotions, awards, etc. (Yates, 2002, pp. 1-2).

A study by Plous (1996) addressed some of the most common myths related to affirmative action. One that is heard quite often is, "Affirmative action may have been necessary 30 years ago, but the playing field is fairly level today" (Plous, 1996, p. 27). This statement cannot be true, as is pointed out earlier in this paper: Blacks on average earn less than Whites, Blacks hold fewer degrees (as a percentage of their population) than Whites, Blacks are less likely to be found in top-level management positions in Fortune 500 companies, and so forth. Affirmative action goes a long way towards supporting the type of interaction DuBois refers to in Souls. When the majority of the White population embraces diversity, government-sponsored programs will not be necessary. The results of the last two survey questions point to some important differences between Blacks and Whites historically linked to issues of affirmative action. As these results illustrate, Blacks and Whites have divergent views of race relations in America.

Conclusion

One hundred years ago, with Emancipation fresh in America's memory, W.E.B. DuBois authored <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u>. One hundred years later, we are still struggling with many of the issues DuBois addressed. DuBois' position in 1903 was that the races could get along, but they needed to have more interactions with one another. In the South, especially, the remnants of slavery created a unique situation where Blacks and Whites had to overcome history. The premise of DuBois' theory was that interaction must occur in all strata of human existence: physical, economic, political, intellectual, social, and religious.

One hundred years ago, Blacks and Whites were segregated along very well defined color lines. Consequently, limited occasion for physical proximity, as DuBois wrote, resulted in Blacks and Whites seeing only the bad in each race, not the good. Today, Blacks and Whites live along less segregated lines, but there is still room for improvement. Real estate practices encourage Blacks and White to live separate lives; a consequence of these practices is the fact that a larger percentage of Blacks live in central cities of metropolitan areas than Whites.

Perhaps, the most meaningful gains for Blacks have been in economic relations. One hundred years ago, the Black labor force had very limited opportunities in the job market and very little training to be successful. Today, significant progress has been made in the workforce: Blacks comprise a larger percentage of the military and Federal workforce than society at large. Additionally, increasing numbers of Black executives exist in Fortune 500 companies. Finally, Blacks are starting to close the income gap with Whites.

During the time DuBois wrote, Blacks had little say in political matters. The 15th Amendment afforded African American males the right to vote, but barriers such as poll taxes, were often associated with this right. Further, representation in judicial, legislative, and executive branches was uncommon for Blacks during this time. Today, many of the discriminatory institutional practices of 100 years ago are gone; the Civil Rights Act of 1964 helped achieve this goal. Also, there is more Black representation at all levels of government than at any other time in our history.

Great advancements have been made on the intellectual and social levels. We have moved away from being a segregated country with limited opportunity for Blacks to one that seeks inclusion and offers opportunity. Things that were unconscionable 100 years ago are more accepted today, education for Blacks and intermarriage, for example.

Religion (Christianity) for Blacks evolved during slavery, and to this day, has remained mostly segregated. However, advancements have been made to desegregate religion in America: Black and White religious denominations are uniting and Blacks are being elected for leadership positions in predominantly White churches.

Unmistakable progress has been made in the 100 years since DuBois wrote <u>Souls</u>, however, more progress is needed. DuBois, (1999, p. 164) summed up Souls with the following.

The After-Thought [sic]

Hear my cry, O God the Reader; vouchsafe that this my book fall not still-born into the world-wilderness. Let there spring, Gentle One, from out of its leaves vigor of thought and thoughtful deed to reap the harvest wonderful. Let the ears of a guilty people tingle with truth, and seventy millions sigh for the righteousness which exalteth nation, in this drear day when human brotherhood is mockery and a snare. Thus in Thy good time may infinite reason turn the tangle straight, and these crooked marks on a fragile leaf be not indeed.

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APPENDIX A

Do you know the answers to the who, what, where, and why behind the headlines of American civil rights history? Take this quiz and find out.

- 1. Jim Crow laws and customs enforced racial segregation and discrimination in the United States, especially in the South. Who was Jim Crow?
 - a) A character in a minstrel show
 - b) A segregationist minister from Alabama
 - c) A character in "Uncle Tom's Cabin"
- 2. In 1961, Freedom Riders (Black and White) traveled around the South in buses, riding from Washington, D.C., to Jackson, Mississippi, where they were arrested and imprisoned. What was the purpose of the Freedom Rides?
 - a) To support Rosa Parks, who was jailed for refusing to give up her bus seat to a White passenger
 - b) To transport protesters to and from the March on Washington
 - c) To test a court decision that declared segregation illegal in bus stations that were open to interstate travel
- 3. Whites in Little Rock, Arkansas, rioted to protest the integration of Central High School. Federal troops were sent in to maintain order. Who sent the troops to Little Rock?
 - a) John F. Kennedy
 - b) Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - c) Lyndon B. Johnson
- 4. In 1962, a Black man applied for admission to the all-White University of Mississippi. A Federal court ordered the university to desegregate, but the governor of Mississippi defied the order and tried to prevent the man from enrolling. The Kennedy administration sent Federal marshals with the student when he enrolled. What was the student's name?
 - a) James Meredith
 - b) Medgar Evers
 - c) Jesse Jackson
- 5. Martin Luther King, Jr., was shot and killed in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. Why was King in Memphis?
 - a) To give his "I Have a Dream" speech
 - b) To support striking workers
 - c) To take part in the NAACP's "Jobs and Freedom" march

- 6. It is widely known that Jackie Robinson was the player who broke the color barrier in major league baseball. Who was the baseball executive who hired Robinson?
 - a) Abner Doubleday
 - b) Branch Rickey
 - c) Kennesaw Mountain Landis
- 7. Many events during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States turned violent. What event is known as Bloody Sunday?
 - a) A church bombing in which four children were killed
 - b) A police attack on voting-rights marchers
 - c) The murder of three young civil rights workers (a Black volunteer and his White coworkers)
- 8. One of the best-known proponents of civil disobedience (refusal to obey civil laws or decrees), Martin Luther King, Jr., advocated nonviolent protest in the fight for civil rights. He was not, however, the first person to set forth the basic tenets of civil disobedience. Who was?
 - a) Henry David Thoreau
 - b) Ralph Waldo Emerson
 - c) Mohandas K. Gandhi
- 9. A constitutional amendment guaranteed African American men the right to vote: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Which amendment is this?
 - a) 13th Amendment
 - b) 15th Amendment
 - c) 19th Amendment
- 10. School desegregation was a major part of the Civil Rights Movement of the mid-20th Century. But challenges to segregation arose around the country even earlier in states such as Arkansas, Massachusetts, and Mississippi. What was the first legal challenge to segregated schools?
 - a) Brown v. Board of Education
 - b) Sweatt v. Painter
 - c) Roberts v. City of Boston

- 11. In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson appointed the National Commission on Civil Disorders and charged the commission with investigating urban riots in the United States. In 1968 the commission released its report, which warned, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one White, separate and unequal." What was the name of the report?
 - a) Kerner Report
 - b) Warren Report
 - c) A Nation at Risk
- 12. The Civil Rights Memorial, which honors 40 people who gave their lives between 1954 and 1968 in the fight for racial equality, was dedicated in 1989. Where is this memorial located?
 - a) Washington, D.C.
 - b) Montgomery, Alabama
 - c) Memphis, Tennessee

Civil Rights Quiz Answers

- 1. The correct answer: A. A character in a minstrel show. Jim Crow was a minstrel character from the 1830s who embodied the negative stereotypes of Blacks. Segregation was often called the Jim Crow system. Jim Crow signs went up throughout the South to separate Whites and Blacks. "Uncle Tom"--after a character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's book Uncle Tom's Cabinis a taboo term for a Black man who is thought to be subservient to Whites. The book, published in 1852, stimulated tremendous antislavery sentiment in the United States.
- 2. The correct answer: C. To test a court decision that declared segregation illegal in bus stations that were open to interstate travel. The Freedom Riders, both Black and White, traveled around the South in buses to test the effectiveness of a 1960 Supreme Court decision (Boynton v. Virginia). This ruling declared that segregation was illegal in bus stations that were open to interstate travel. The 1961 Freedom Rides, organized by the Congress of Racial Equality, met with resistance and inspired dozens more Freedom Rides. Rosa Parks was arrested in 1955 after refusing to give up her seat to a White passenger. Her action led to the Montgomery bus strike, which was the first large-scale, organized protest against segregation that used nonviolent tactics.
- 3. The correct answer: B. Dwight D. Eisenhower. In 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched troops to secure the admission of nine Black students into a "White" high school in Little Rock, Arkansas. President John F. Kennedy sent troops to restore order at the University of Mississippi in 1962 where rioting erupted when a Black man attempted to enroll at the school. The Kennedy administration also sent U.S. Army troops to the University of Alabama in 1963 to prevent violence and enforce desegregation.
- 4. The correct answer: A. James Meredith. James Meredith became the first Black student at the University of Mississippi. He has been involved in various civil rights and political activities over the years. Medgar Evers was the NAACP field officer in Mississippi. On June 12, 1963, he was killed by a gunman in front of his home.
- 5. The correct answer: B. To support striking workers. King was in Memphis to support Black garbage workers who were on strike. Throughout 1966 and 1967, King turned the focus of his civil rights activism to economic issues, arguing for the redistribution of the nation's economic wealth to help overcome entrenched Black poverty. In 1963, King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C., during the nation's greatest mass demonstration for civil rights, the "Jobs and Freedom" march.
- 6. The correct answer: B. Branch Rickey. In 1945 Branch Rickey, general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers hired Jackie Robinson who became the first African American to play modern major league baseball. Rickey concluded that segregation in major league baseball was morally wrong and was politically indefensible in the state of New York. Abner Doubleday, a Union officer in the American Civil War, is credited with inventing the sport of baseball. Kennesaw Mountain Landis was the first commissioner of major and minor league baseball; he was appointed to the post in 1920.

- 7. The correct answer: B. A police attack on voting-rights marchers. In 1965, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) participated in a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to draw national attention to the struggle for Black voting rights in Alabama. Just outside of Selma, the police told marchers to go home. When they refused, the police beat and tear-gassed the protesters. Four young girls were killed on September 15, 1963, when a bomb planted by a Ku Klux Klan member exploded and destroyed the 16th Street Baptist Church, in Birmingham, Alabama. The abduction and murder of three young civil rights workers was the most infamous event of 1964's Freedom Summer, a campaign in the Deep South to register Blacks to vote.
- 8. The correct answer: A. Henry David Thoreau. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," American writer, philosopher, and naturalist Henry David Thoreau expressed the fundamental ideas of civil disobedience for the first time. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, non-violent efforts played a primary role in bringing about civil rights legislation in the United States. Mohandas Gandhi also employed civil disobedience in his resistance to British colonial laws in India.
- 9. The correct answer: B. 15th Amendment. This amendment guaranteed African American men the right to vote. Although it was ratified in 1870, it was enforced only briefly. It was not until almost 100 years later, with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, that the courts enforced it. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery, and the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote.
- 10. The correct answer: C. Roberts v. City of Boston (1849). A Black man named Benjamin F. Roberts sued to force the city of Boston to allow his daughter Sarah to attend the nearest elementary school, instead of a segregated school across town. A young Black attorney, Robert Morris, and Charles Sumner, who later authored the Civil Rights Act of 1875, represented Roberts. In 1954, Brown v. Board of Education broke the back of segregation. The ruling declared that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."
- 11. The correct answer: A. Kerner Report. In 1965, riots erupted in Black sections of many major cities, including Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit, and Chicago. President Lyndon Johnson charged the commission with analyzing the specific causes of the riots. The National Commission on Civil Disorders presented its findings in the Kerner Report, which concluded that urban violence reflected the profound frustration of inner-city Blacks and that racism was deeply embedded in American society. The Warren Report was concerned with the circumstances of John F. Kennedy's assassination. A Nation at Risk is the title of a 1983 report by the U.S. Department of Education.
- 12. The correct answer: B. Montgomery, Alabama. The Civil Rights Memorial was designed by Vietnam War Memorial artist Maya Lin.

The contents of this quiz were derived from the Encarta Reference Library 2002, which includes a complete edition of Microsoft Encarta Africana.